



# SCOTTISH SCHOLARS AT GENEVA, 1559-1650

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THE international character associated with Geneva goes back at least to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For many years a fair was held in the city which was recognised as highly important down to 1462. The year 1559, when Calvin founded his Academy,<sup>1</sup> saw Geneva enter its next phase as the home of an international culture. Students from many lands were attracted there by the fame of Calvin and Beza. The latter afterwards wrote that the Genevan School rose out of the ruins of many other schools in that time of European upheaval. In these circumstances the wandering Scot was sure to be found there.

## I—THE STUDENTS.

Many of the students inscribed their names in the Rector's Book, the published edition of which covers three centuries (1559-1859).<sup>2</sup> The years 1572-75 are almost blank, and it would also appear that in the case of a few other years the signing of the Book was not carried out, although laid down for the public scholars, for names, omitted there, occur in the "Armorial" of the University. In the whole period, 1559-1859, a score of Scottish names appear, one or two others being doubtful. These students<sup>3</sup> describe themselves as "Scotus" or "Scoto-Britannus." Here they are:—

Petrus Zoung Dondonensis, between 1559 and 1561.

Gilbertus Moncreif, 1567.

Joannes Skeneus, 1569.

<sup>1</sup> *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. II, Chap. xi—"Calvin and the Reformed Church"—and Chap. xix—"Tendencies of European Thought in the Age of the Reformation"—by Rev. A. M. Fairbairn, D.D., specially pp. 372 and 691. Professor Charles Borgeaud: *Histoire de l'Université de Genève*—Vol. I, *L'Académie de Calvin*, 1559-1798. 1900.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Livre du Recteur*, Catalogue des Étudiants de l'Académie de Genève de 1559 à 1859. Edited by Charles le Fort, Gustave Revilliod, and Edouard Fick. 1860. C. Borgeaud: *Les Étudiants à l'Académie de Genève au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*.

<sup>3</sup> Registers (Matriculation and Graduation) of the Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and St. Andrews. The name of Andreas Bidius does not occur in the Aberdeen University Lists, nor elsewhere.

David Humeus, iur, civilis stud., 1579.

Jacobus Haldanus, linguarum et theolog. stud., 1579.

Andreas Lambinus, 1584.

Archibaldus Hunterus, philo. stud., 1589.

Robertus Wimeus, 1597.

Andreas Bidius Abredeanus, 1602.

M. Alexander Symsonus Hadingtonus, 1602.

Patricius Kynnerius Kilmanensis, 1604.

Robertus Olyphantus à Bachilton N. Scoto-Britannus amicae  
recordationis ergo, nomen meum apposui, 1606.

Joannes Camero, 1606.

Jacobus Areskinus, 1606.

Johannes Litillus, 1618.

Johannes Moncrifius, 1622.

Robertus Cowperus Edinburgensis, 1624.

M. Georgius Barbour, huc accessit ad Rectorem, 1627.

Georgius Forresterus Edinburgensis, 1641.

M. Robertus Dalielus, 1644.

It is reported by Dr. Adrien Chopard, Berne, that the names of other students appear in the "Armorial" of the University of Geneva, but I have not seen this book. The names given, which may all be Scottish, are the following (not found in *Le Livre du Recteur*):—

<sup>1</sup>Robert Lindsay, 1607.

Thomas Dalyell, 1634.

Henry Murrey, 1634.

James Mouat (Movattus), 1635.

We learn of another student, George Craig,<sup>2</sup> from his own "Album Amicorum," the earliest entries in which bear the date 1603. There are also at least three whose very names, Gulielmus Nicol (1576), David Primrose (1620), and Johannes Hammilton (1626), seem to point to their Scottish origin.<sup>3</sup> The first-named apparently hailed from near Julich, the two latter from Xanten. Both these towns are in Rhineland.

Without claiming at all to be exhaustive, a few notes on some of the

<sup>1</sup> Robert Lindsay is probably the student M. Robert Lindsay who graduated M.A. at Edinburgh in 1613. F. Michel (*Les Écossais en France*, II. 267-269) quotes a letter which he wrote from Bordeaux in 1614 to his brother David, first Lord Balcarres.

<sup>2</sup> *The Alba Amicorum of George Strachan, George Craig, Thomas Cumming*, by J. F. Kellas Johnstone, F.S.A.Scot. 1924. The first named Album is preserved in the Library of St. Mary's College, Blairs, Aberdeen; the second in Edinburgh University Library; the third in the British Museum.

<sup>3</sup> *Le Livre du Recteur*, pp. 88 and 98.

above names may be appended. The first name is that of PETER YOUNG,<sup>1</sup> a native of Dundee, afterwards Sir Peter Young of Seaton, tutor of James VI, along with George Buchanan. His father was John Young, merchant burgess of Edinburgh and Dundee, a man of high standing and respectability, descended from the Youngs of Ouchterlony, an ancient family of Angus. His mother was Margaret Scrymger, and he was thus nephew alike of Henry Scrymger and of Andrew Melville. While in Geneva he resided with the first-named uncle.

GILBERT MONCREIF,<sup>2</sup> after studying elsewhere, came to Geneva, where he formed a friendship with Andrew Melville. Those two and another student followed the renowned Peter Ramus to Lausanne, to hear his further lectures on Dialectics. Moncreif afterwards became physician to James VI.

JOANNES SKENEUS<sup>3</sup> is probably the famous Sir John Skene, afterwards a lord of Session under the title of Lord Curriehill. Before studying on the Continent he had been regent in St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, 1564-5. He refers repeatedly to his travels in *De Verborum Significatione*. He was brother of Mr. William Skene, Commissar, and his name—as "Mr. Jhone Skein, Advocat"—appears in James Melville's Diary as one of the Commissioners appointed in 1588 to consult for the welfare of the Kirk "in sa dangerus a tyme." The notable feature attaching to his signature in the Rector's Book is the length of the declaration of his faith. It is the longest of all, and usually none whatever was made by the individual student.

DAVID HUMEUS<sup>4</sup> was probably David Home or Hume of Godscroft, Berwickshire, younger brother of the Laird of Wedderburn, who afterwards became well known as a writer under the pen-name of "Theagrius."

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XXI (Re-issue 1908-1909), pp. 1301-1303. Thomas Smith, D.D.: *Vitae quorundam Eruditissimorum et Illustrum Virorum*. 1707. Henry W. Young: *The Life of Sir Peter Young, Knt., of Seaton*: translation of the foregoing Life by T. Smith, with Introduction. Privately printed, 1896. As to Patrick Young (1584-1652), his fifth and learned son, to whose care the library of Henry Scrymger was committed, see *D.N.B.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 1300-1301, with Bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> C. Borgeaud: *L'Académie de Calvin*, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> See *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 336-337, with Bibliography.

<sup>4</sup> Burke's *Landed Gentry*, pp. 1012 and 1145. *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. X, pp. 213-214. His daughter Anna had also marked literary gifts, and his son James was a notable mathematician in France, where he lived. *Idem*. pp. 213 and 228. M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, II. 435-437.



He married Barbara Johnstone, widow of Sir John Haldane, 9th of Gleneagles. We gather that he was a special friend of the other Scottish student who signed the Rector's Book on the same day (1579), namely, James Haldane.

JAMES HALDANE<sup>1</sup> was third son of John Haldane, 7th of Gleneagles. He was incorporated at St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, in 1567, and graduated B.A., 1571, and M.A., 1572. He afterwards studied at Padua, and then proceeded to Geneva. While Hume entered at Geneva for the study of civil law, Haldane chose languages and theology. It would appear that he was full brother to the then laird of Gleneagles. His career ended all too soon. In 1585, during the "raid of Stirling," the laird was a prisoner in Stirling, when the banished nobles with an army forced James VI to receive them, and the Earl of Arran was driven from his upstart power. The laird was able to join the assailants safely, but James Haldane, while hotly pursuing the Colonel of the King's forces, was fatally shot by the Colonel's servant.<sup>2</sup> It is of real interest to note that in a later generation another of the clan, ROBERT HALDANE,<sup>3</sup> visited Geneva in the winter of 1816-17, and made a profound impression on the theological students by his expository lectures on the Epistle to the Romans.

ANDREAS LAMBINUS<sup>4</sup> (Andrew Lamb, 1565? - 1634), became successively minister at Burntisland, Arbroath, and South Leith. He was appointed titular bishop of Brechin in 1607, and presented a beautiful brass chandelier to the cathedral there. He was translated to the see of Galloway in 1619. In his later years he became blind, and resided for the most part in Leith, where he was the possessor of property. It was said he "loved not to be poor," but he was tolerant and conciliatory.

ARCHIBALD HUNTER is probably the student of that name who graduated M.A. at Edinburgh in 1587.

Master ALEXANDER SYMSON<sup>5</sup> from Haddington (1602) seems to have been the son of Andrew Symson, minister of Dunbar and afterwards at Dalkeith. He graduated M.A. at Glasgow in 1590, and held charges at Muckart (1591), Alva and Tillicoultry (1592), and Merton (1597). It is

<sup>1</sup> *Early Records of University of St. Andrews*, pp. 275, 166, 168. Burke's *Landed Gentry*, p. 1012.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander Haldane: *Lives of Robert Haldane and of James Alexander Haldane*, p. 4. Fourth edition, 1855.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, pp. 401-407.

<sup>4</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XI, p. 421, with Bibliography.

<sup>5</sup> Scott's *Fasti*, II, pp. 776, 690, 158. *Records of Scottish Church History Society*, Vol. IV, Parts II and III, pp. 119-137, and 208 ff, spec. 241-244, *The Levitical Family of Simson*, by Rev. W. J. Couper, D.D.

stated that an effort was made to have him translated to Tillicoultry, recently disjoined from Alva and made a separate charge, in 1602, but the Presbytery would not agree. Henri Heyer says that after studying at Geneva in 1602 he was pastor at Châteaudun from 1603 to 1614.<sup>1</sup> Heyer's catalogue of theses delivered at Geneva contains one by Symson, *De Deo et vero Dei cultu*.<sup>2</sup>

PATRICIUS KYNNERIUS (which should probably be taken as the Latin for Patrick Kinnear), it is interesting to note, hailed from Kilmany, the country of the Kinnears. We possess two of his theses. The one was maintained at Montauban in 1603 under the presidency of Bernard Sonius, and was directed to showing that Scripture is the only means of Divine revelation to-day, the subject being thus described: *De Modo et Ratione qua Deus verbi sui ἀσφάλειαν proponit hominibus*. Kinnear describes himself as "Theologiae Candidatus." Then he passed to Geneva, where he maintained his thesis<sup>3</sup> *De vita et morte* before Beza's successor in the Chair of Theology, Antoine de la Faye. His name is not found in the Lists of any Scottish University, and his after-history has not been traced.

ROBERTUS OLYPHANTUS<sup>4</sup> à BACHILTON (Robert Oliphant) seems to have been a younger son of George Oliphant of Ardchailzie, to whom, along with his son George, a charter was granted by James VI in 1587, conveying the lands of Bachilton in the parish of Methven. These lands remained in the hands of the family for a long period. This Robert Oliphant is evidently the young man who petitioned Queen Elizabeth for assistance in recovering Robert Douglas, Master of Morton, and Laurence, Master of Oliphant, out of the hands of the Turks. These two young men received a licence to travel in December, 1584, and were never seen again. Thomas Dempster says that Robert Oliphant travelled in France—this would include his visit to Geneva—Germany, Italy and Spain, and ultimately reached Denmark. He mentions *Itineris sui* as one of Oliphant's books.<sup>5</sup>

JOHN CAMERON,<sup>6</sup> after being Professor of Philosophy in the University

<sup>1</sup> Henri Heyer: *Catalogue des Thèses de Théologie soutenues à l'Académie de Genève*, etc. (No. V. of Documents relative to the History of the Academy), Geneva, 1898, p. 160. This matter requires further investigation.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>4</sup> *The Oliphants in Scotland*, pp. 141-143, 151-153. Edited by Joseph Anderson. 1879. E. Maxtone Grahame (E. Blair Oliphant): *The Oliphants of Gask*, pp. 73-77. 1910.

<sup>5</sup> The Librarian of the University of Copenhagen writes (March 1938) that no information about him can be found in any of the Libraries there.

<sup>6</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. VIII, pp. 295-296, and Bibliography. H. M. B. Reid, D.D.: *The Divinity Principals in the University of Glasgow*, pp. 170-250. 1917.

of Sedan for some two years, returned to Bordeaux about the end of 1604. The Protestants there undertook his support for four years in whatever Protestant University he should choose to study divinity, on condition that he would come back at the end of the period and be their minister. For the whole of that time he acted as tutor to the two sons of Monsieur Calignon, Chancellor of the king of Navarre. He spent the first year with them in their home, and took them for the next two to Geneva, then for the fourth to Heidelberg. Wodrow states that he studied hard at Geneva. For his great learning he was known as "the walking library," and at the same time, as Bayle tells us, was a man of independent judgment. "He was most dear," says Wodrow, "to all the students with whom he was acquainted, especially the French, on the account of his learning, sweetness of temper, and readiness to communicate what he was master of. He was likewise very much in the favour of the Pastors and Professors of both these Universities, and by them highly honoured and much valued for his singular piety and erudition."<sup>1</sup> He became minister at Bordeaux in 1608, and Professor of Divinity at Saumur in 1618. In 1622 he was appointed Principal of Glasgow University, but within a year he had to leave on account of his views on passive obedience. Returning to Saumur he read private lectures, and in 1624 he was appointed Professor of Divinity at Montauban. Here he was severely assailed for his opinions. His health was impaired and he died in 1625.

JOHN LITTLE (Johannes Litillus) was the son of William, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, and a nephew of Clement Little, advocate, who died on 7th April, 1580, and bequeathed his books<sup>2</sup> for the benefit of the city ministers, elders and deacons. These formed the nucleus of what is now the Library of Edinburgh University. John Little matriculated Edinburgh in 1604. He died at Geneva in July, 1622.<sup>3</sup>

GEORGE BARBOUR was probably the student of that name who graduated M.A. at Edinburgh in 1623, and GEORGE FORRESTER, the student who was a member of the class of 1638.

Other two Scotsmen, we know, were students at Geneva during the period, although their names are not found in the Rector's Book. They were GEORGE KEITH,<sup>4</sup> fifth Earl Marischal (1553 ? - 1623), and his brother, WILLIAM KEITH. George Keith had previously studied at King's College, Aberdeen, and by the age of eighteen had made great progress in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, as also in the knowledge of history, antiquities, and literature. He resided at Geneva with Beza, who gave him special instruc-

<sup>1</sup> *Collections*. . . . *The Life of Mr. John Cameron* (Maitland Club) II. 87.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh Testaments, 20th February, 1582-3 (Register House), and Inventory.

<sup>3</sup> Edinburgh Commissariat Testaments, 12th July, 1624.

<sup>4</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. X, pp. 1204-1206.



tion, we are told, in divinity, history, and the art of speaking. The death of his brother William made him break off his studies at Geneva, and he then visited the principal courts of Europe, where he won golden opinions. Beza thus wrote of him in his "*Epistola*" (1580) to James VI, prefixed to the *Icones*: "insignis denique generis adolescens Georgius Keytus ab illustri patre Scotici regni Marescallo, ad nos usque studiorum causa missus." He succeeded to the Earldom on the death of his grandfather in 1581. He was one of the very few really cultured noblemen of that period. Being keen to promote a wider system of education he founded Marischal College, Aberdeen, in 1593. WILLIAM KEITH<sup>1</sup> also studied under Beza. When he was killed in a scuffle at or near Geneva in 1577 Beza wrote a poem in his memory.<sup>2</sup>

SIR THOMAS CUMMING<sup>3</sup> may also be noted as a visitor to Geneva in this period. His *Album Amicorum* is preserved in the British Museum Library.

FRANCIS STUART à BOTUEL too is mentioned by Beza in his *Epistola* prefixed to *Icones*.

## II—THE TEACHERS.

Three Scotsmen were teachers in Calvin's Academy.

I. ALEXANDER BRISSON, OR BRYSON,<sup>4</sup> is described as from Edinburgh. He was probably the same Alexander Bryson who was presented to the living of Durisdeer, Dumfriesshire, in January, 1576. His ministry there was short, for in November, 1579, a successor was appointed, named James Bryson. In Scott's *Fasti*<sup>5</sup> it is suggested that this may have been the same person, but that cannot have been the case, because, presumably, he was at Durisdeer between 1580 and 1582. Now Alexander Bryson appears at Geneva in 1580. In that year Antoine de la Faye was called to the active ministry, and a successor was required as public Professor of Philosophy. The Company of pastors had great difficulty in finding one to recommend to the Council, but at last they were able to nominate Alexander Brisson or Bryson. We can only conjecture whether they received information about him from Andrew Melville, or heard of him

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. X, p. 1204. Sir James Balfour Paul: *Scots Peerage*, VI, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Poëmata varia* (1599), fol. 43.

<sup>3</sup> *The Alba Amicorum of George Strachan, George Craig, Thomas Cumming*, by J. F. Kellas Johnstone, F.S.A. Scot. 1924.

<sup>4</sup> *Le Livre du Recteur*, p. 373—Liste des Professeurs; C. Borgeaud, *Histoire de l'Université de Genève*—Vol. I, *L'Académie de Calvin*, 1559-1798, pp. 184-188, 639.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. II, p. 312.



at one of the Universities on the Continent where they made inquiry. He was received as Professor by the Council, and took the customary oath on 11th October, 1580. From a valuable letter in the library of Basle we learn that Bryson read the *Organon* and the *Ethics* of Aristotle with his students in the spring of 1581, which would be according to the wishes of the Company of ministers. However, he occupied the Chair for less than two years. Professor Charles Borgeaud has discovered the reason in the old archives.

Bryson became engaged to a girl of nineteen, Marie Anastaize, niece of Henry Estienne, known as Henry II, of the famous family of printers. Her mother, Catherine Estienne, was a widow. The prospective marriage was announced in the spring of 1581, but the young *fiancée* died. During her illness Bryson would no doubt visit the house daily, and the common affliction seems to have drawn him and the girl's mother, a number of years older than himself, into a mutual affection. Their proposal to marry was made public, but it was felt that such a union would cause a scandal in the Church, and it was not allowed. Young Bryson took this so much to heart that he left Geneva in March, 1582, and from that time no trace of him has been found.

2. ANDREW MELVILLE (Andreas Melvinus). McCrie's classic biography<sup>1</sup> makes it unnecessary to recount at length his earlier history. He was a young man of 24 in the year 1569, by which time he had spent five years on the Continent, at Paris and Poitiers. After the siege of Poitiers by Admiral Coligny, leader of the Protestants, had been raised, he set out from that city along with a young Frenchman. They went on foot, Melville's untiring mode of travel, and all he carried was a small Hebrew Bible slung from his belt. Because of the disturbed state of France they avoided the highways and the fortified towns, and at length, with three hundred miles or more behind them, they stood before the gate of Geneva after nightfall. The population had increased from some thirteen thousand to twenty thousand through the arrival of French refugees. The question of their support therefore arose. "We are poor scholars from France," said the Frenchman, whereupon the guard gave them a significant look. They possessed only a crown between them, but Melville, with his characteristic hardy courage, immediately assured the soldier that they had enough for all they required, and showed him his letters of introduction to Beza. The gates immediately opened.

The next part of the story may first be given in the words of Dr. Thomas McCrie and James Melville. McCrie says:<sup>2</sup> "At their first

<sup>1</sup> Thomas McCrie, D.D.: *Life of Andrew Melville*. 1819.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Andrew Melville*, Vol. I, Chap. I.

interview Beza was highly pleased with Melville, of whom he talked to his colleagues as a person who appeared well qualified to fill the chair of Humanity which happened to be then vacant in their Academy. Accordingly he was put on trials within a few days after his arrival, and, being examined on Virgil and Homer, acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of his judges, that he was immediately admitted." This is founded on the account James Melville gives in his Diary,<sup>1</sup> as follows: "Sa being convoyit to Beza, and then to their ludging, Beza, perceaving him a schollar, and they haiffing neid of a Professour of Humanitie in the Collage, put him within a twa or thrie dayes to tryell in Virgill and Homer, quhilk he could acquait so weill, that but farder he is placed in that roun of profession, and at his first entrie a quarter's fie peyit him in hand."

It remains now to make clearer and more explicit the capacity in which Melville taught there. Professor Charles Borgeaud, historian of the University, supplies the necessary fuller information.<sup>2</sup> Calvin's Academy or College in the larger sense was really divided into two parts, one a "private school" or *gymnasium*, the other the Academy in the sense of a University College, in which the teachers were *publici Professores*. Melville's name does not appear in the list of these for the chair of Greek—the only classical professorship—was occupied from 1561 to 1582 by Francis Portus. It was in the "private school" or *gymnasium* that Melville laboured. From the seventh class, in which the youngest pupils were taught to read in Latin and French, and to write, the teaching was graded right up to the first class. Now Melville was "regent" of the second class—the second highest class—where the authors read were Livy for Latin history, Xenophon, Polybius or Herodotus for Greek history; and also Homer. The elements of Dialectics were taught with the aid of Cicero's Orations. On Sunday afternoon the reading was St. Luke's Gospel in Greek. That was a highly honourable position, although he was not called on to deliver public lectures as the professors were. Beza wrote<sup>3</sup> afterwards that he had been "singulare ornamentum" of the Academy. Like many another wandering scholar, Melville was teacher and learner at the same time. There were several men whose lectures he

<sup>1</sup> Wodrow Society Edition, pp. 41 and 42.

<sup>2</sup> C. Borgeaud: *L'Académie de Calvin*, pp. 43-44, 109-110; *L'Ordre du College de Geneve*, a facsimile reprint of the original Edition as issued by the famous printer, Robert Estienne, b. ii, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Epistola* (last page) to James VI prefixed to *Icones id est Verae Imagines Virorum doctrina simul et pietate Illustrium*. 1580. Another edition of the *Icones* was issued by Dr. C. G. McCrie in 1906.

attended very diligently : Beza for theology ; Francis Portus, a native of Crete and one of the very foremost scholars of the time, for Greek. James Melville tells how Melville used to argue with Portus about the right pronunciation of Greek, which Portus pronounced according to the accents, until he would exclaim, " Vos Scoti, vos barbari ! docebitis nos Graecos Pronuntiationem linguae nostrae, scilicet ? "

Melville also attended the lectures of Cornelius Bonaventura Bertram (" Corneille ") on Hebrew and other Oriental languages, and those of Francis Ottoman, the most renowned lawyer of the time. He had already listened with great delight to the lectures of Peter Ramus on Dialectics in Paris, and, as mentioned above,<sup>1</sup> he and Gilbert Moncreif followed him from Geneva to Lausanne for a few weeks in the summer of 1570 to continue their studies under him. Ramus<sup>2</sup> opposed not only Scholasticism, but even the Dialectics of Aristotle, and sought to combine Rhetoric with Logic. According to McCrie, the teaching of Ramus had a great influence upon Melville when he came to shape his educational policy for the Universities of Glasgow and St. Andrews.

Attached to his quarters at Geneva there was a garden, and when he left in 1574 Joseph Justus Scaliger, the noted classical scholar, had this garden assigned to him at his own request.<sup>3</sup> Melville's departure from Geneva was the result of urgent letters from his nephew James, George Buchanan, and others in Scotland begging him to return, and the dictates of his own conscience in regard to these entreaties. Had it not been for that call of conscience the ministers and magistrates of Geneva would not have allowed him to go, such was the esteem in which he was held. Beza indeed wrote that it was the greatest token of affection the Kirk of Geneva could show to the Kirk of Scotland when they consented to let him go. So ended the Genevan chapter in Melville's life.<sup>4</sup>

3. HENRY SCRYMGEOUR OR SCRYMGER (Scrimger).<sup>5</sup> Unlike Melville, he has now been largely forgotten, so it is well to revive the faded colours of his portrait.

<sup>1</sup> p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> Ueberweg : *History of Philosophy*, Engl. Transl., II, 12, 19. C. Borgeaud : *L'Académie de Calvin*, pp. 110-115.

<sup>3</sup> C. Borgeaud : *L'Académie de Calvin*, pp. 135-136.

<sup>4</sup> See also *American Historical Review*, Vol. V, pp. 284-290—Cartwright and Melville at the University of Geneva, 1569-1574.

<sup>5</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1088-1089, with Bibliography, specially—for Scrymger's classical labours—*Notes and Queries*, 5th ser., XII, pp. 322, 402, 6th ser., I, p. 265. Charles Borgeaud : *L'Académie de Calvin*, pp. 73, 75, 77 ff., 90 ff., 110, 115, 638.



He is usually said to have been the second son of Richard Scrymger of Glaswell, although in the burgess roll of Geneva his father is named James Scrymger, then deceased (1561). Henry Scrymger thus belonged to a branch of the Dudhope family, who held the two hereditary offices of royal standard-bearer and constable of Dundee. He had two sisters, Isobell and Margaret. Isobell married Richard Melville of Baldowie, near Montrose, brother of Andrew, and minister of Maryton. Henry thus became the brother-in-law of Andrew Melville, and Isobell became the mother of James Melville, who speaks of her in terms of the highest affection and praise. He calls Henry Scrymger his "Eam" (uncle). Margaret, the other sister, who is described as having been of high intelligence and beautiful character, married John Young, and had two sons, Alexander, who visited his uncle Andrew at Geneva, and of whom James Melville speaks, and Peter, who became the Sir Peter Young already referred to. He must also have had a brother whose son, Alexander Scrymgeour, James Melville calls his cousin, and of whom he says that he is "now [1600] a man of guid giftes and estimation in the ministerie."

Henry Scrymger was educated first at the Grammar School of Dundee, and then passed to St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews, where he appears as "primus" in the M.A. Graduation "*Rotulus rigorosus*" of 1534, having been Bachelor of Arts in 1533. Now the History of Calvin's Academy gives 1506 as the date of his birth, and it is distinctly stated somewhere that he died in 1572 at the age of 65. This means that when he entered at St. Andrews in 1531 or thereby, he was twenty-five years of age. No reason appears why he was so much beyond the average age of the entrants of that time, and we wonder what he was doing during the preceding eight or ten years. Is it an unlikely supposition that he was a tutor in some family? At St. Andrews he associated with George Wishart, George Buchanan, John Erskine of Dun, and Sir James Haliburton, afterwards Provost of Dundee, and was thus brought into touch with the Reformed doctrines, although a number of years were to pass before he embraced them.

From St. Andrews he proceeded to the Continent as a student, and there is no evidence to show that he ever returned to his native land. He went first to Paris, then to Bourges, where he studied Civil Law under Baro and Duaren. On the recommendation of Amyot, Professor of Greek there, he now became private tutor in the family of Boucherel, one of the State secretaries of Francis I. Next, he filled the post of secretary to Claude Dodieu, bishop of Rennes, and accompanied him when he was sent as ambassador from France to several Italian courts. During his stay in Italy he visited Padua, and received a deep religious



impression through the death there of Francis Spira, a lawyer. The last days of this man were filled with horror because he had rashly recanted the Protestant faith through fear of the Inquisition; although Vergerio, bishop of Capo d'Istria, and some other learned and pious men, tried to comfort him in his wretched penitence. Along with several others Scrymger—writing under the name of “Henricus Scotus”—contributed to an account of Spira—*Francisci Spierae Historia* (1549),<sup>1</sup> and John Calvin wrote a Preface.

It is most probable that one of the places at which he resided in Italy was Genoa. Mr. Hugh W. Young, F.S.A. Scot., in the Introduction to his translation of the Life of Sir Peter Young, Knt., by Dr. Thomas Smith (pp. 9, 10), speaks of Henry Scrymgeour as “the famous Professor of Civil Law at Genoa,” and of “his long connection with the University of Genoa,” but after particular investigations I have been unable to establish the fact of his connection with that University.

It may well have been in Genoa, however, that he became acquainted with Ulrich Fugger (1526-1584), a member of that almost fabulously wealthy family of merchants and bankers in Augsburg who were such zealous patrons of literature and art. Ulrich Fugger was originally destined for the priesthood, and at a later date he was appointed by Paul III as one of the Papal chamberlains. This led to a long residence in Italy, and as Augsburg and Genoa up to about the middle of the sixteenth century were the centres of large financial transactions, for the Emperor at any rate, he would almost certainly visit Genoa from time to time as a representative of the Fugger family.<sup>2</sup> Either there or in some other Italian city he and Henry Scrymger must have met, and when Fugger discovered that Scrymger was searching diligently for Greek and Hebrew manuscripts with the most correct readings, his own love of literature led him to wel-

<sup>1</sup> To this Henry Scrymger was one of six contributors. His part, extending from pp. 62-95, is entitled: *Exemplum Memorabile Desperationis in Francisco Spiera propter abiuratam fidei confessionem, Henrico Scoto Autore.*

[In the Preface written by Coelius S. four witnesses, who contribute to the work, are mentioned. The second in order is Scrimger, who is thus descr.: “natione Scotus, homo doctus, disertus, gravis: et quod ad historiam scribendam requiritur maxime fidelis, et bonus.” John Calvin contributes pp. 57-61.]

The story is related in English by Nathaniel Bacon: *A Relation of the fearful Estate of Francis Spira in the year 1548*. Editions in 1675, 1761 and 1851.

It is stated in Jean Senebier's *Histoire Littéraire de Genève* that Scrymger published a History of Scotland under the name “Henri d'Ecosse.” The work referred to, however, was his contribution to the History of Francis Spira.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Ehrenberg: *Capital and Finance in the Age of the Renaissance* (a study of the Fuggers and their connections). Transl. from the German by H. M. Lucas. 1928.

come such a zealous ally. This seems to have been the way in which these two men first came to be close associates in the promotion of Greek learning.

On returning to Germany, Fugger came into direct touch with some of the Reformers, and a little later, while all the other members of his family remained devoted adherents of the Roman Catholic Church, he declared himself on the side of the Protestant faith. He invited Scrymger to Augsburg, and gave him charge of his library, and probably also of certain affairs in which his valuable experience as a diplomat might be usefully employed. Thus he came to Geneva in 1561, entrusted with supervising the publication of learned editions of classical authors which the house of Estienne was preparing for the press at Fugger's expense, and perhaps at the same time to keep a watchful eye on the policy of the house of Savoy. Calvin, who had an old acquaintance with him, proposed to retain his services. He was first offered the vacant Chair of Greek, but for two reasons he declined. In the first place, Henry Estienne was a candidate, and that made him hesitate. The other reason lay in his obligations to Ulrich Fugger. However, a few months later, towards the end of 1561, he was asked to take charge of the course of Arts, or, as it was now coming to be called, Philosophy, without salary, and he accepted the invitation. In the end of that year he was made a free burgess of the city. The entry in the burgess record runs as follows: "30th December, 1561. In the case of Henry Scrimger, son of the late James Scrimger, of Dundee, Scotland, he was made a free burgess, out of regard to the graces and gifts which he has received from Our Lord, by means of which he will be able to serve our Republic and College, as also in view of and esteem for the noble and illustrious Ulrich Fugger, lord of Kirchberg and Weissenhorn, etc., in whose employment he is."

In 1562 he married Francoise de Saussure. During the same year he was sent on a mission to Germany along with Jean Budé. This was to arrange for a loan from the Protestants of Germany, especially from those at the court of Frederick III, Elector-Palatine of the Rhine, the loan being required to make up the salaries of the professors. In 1563 he entered the Council of the Two Hundred. On the 15th March, 1564, his name occurs in a notary's records as one of the witnesses at the marriage of Anne, daughter of Francis Portus, Professor of Greek. He is described there as public professor of Arts. On the 26th April of the same year his name appears as a witness to Calvin's will.

Professor Borgeaud says it is probable that Jacques des Bordes was appointed Professor of Philosophy during Scrymger's absence in Germany referred to above, until on 12th May, 1563, he (des Bordes) was appointed

a minister of the city. Meanwhile Scrymger had returned, most probably after arriving at an understanding with Ulrich Fugger. He therefore resumed his teaching in the Chair of Arts, without the definite title of "professor," but with remuneration. It is likely that the quasi-diplomatic functions he retained prevented him from becoming a member of the Company of ministers and professors. There was a clear line of demarcation between civil and ecclesiastical functions at that time. On the 4th June, 1563, it was agreed in the Council on the motion of Calvin that a sum of two hundred florins be awarded to Scrymger for his services.

He continued to teach Philosophy until 1565, when he was set free from that for the teaching of Civil Law. We are told that he opened a course on the Institutes of law, eagerly, it is said, seeing he was not recognised as a full professor of Philosophy. On the 13th September, 1566, his voluntary lecturing on that subject was recognised by a further present from the Council. It was his notable Edition (1558) of the *Novellae Constitutiones* of Justinian, which created a sensation when published, that had led to his being thought of as a teacher of Law. He was unfitted for this, however, Greek being his real subject; and the students loudly complained. At last, in October, 1568, after Beza had remonstrated with him, he asked leave for a long absence to attend to important affairs and obey the behests of the Elector Palatine, and expressed his great desire to be relieved of the public lectures. It was therefore agreed to relieve him, and at the same time to thank him for the services he had rendered (*Reg. Cons.*, 1st November, 1568). He was further recompensed by being given a seat on the Council of Sixty on 3rd January, 1570. He was held in high esteem not only by Calvin and Beza, but also by many literary men in Europe who held various views. For he was an exact scholar, and had gathered many valuable manuscripts, and had a wide knowledge of men and affairs. He wrote notes at Geneva on Athenaeus, Strabo, Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, Demosthenes, Cicero's *Philosophica*, the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, and on some obscure classical authors. He intended to publish these, but unfortunately a dispute arose with Henry Estienne [Stephen], the printer, who thought Scrymger had a plan to set up a rival establishment.

Referring to his two uncles at Geneva James Melville says: "There he [A. M.] was weill acquainted with my Eam, Mr. Hendrie Scrymgeour, wha be his lerning in the lawes and policie and service of manie noble princes, haid attained to grait ritches, conquestit a prettie roum within a lig to Geneu, and biggit thereon a trim houss called the *Vilet*, and a fear ludging within the town, quhilks all with a douchter, his onlie bern, he left to the Syndiques of the town." This house was beyond the Genevan frontier, and on the lands of the Duke of Savoy. Here he was



arrested in 1569 for some State reason. He was detained at Chambéry for two months, and it was only through the intercession of Monsieur de Berne and the Elector Palatine that he was released.

John Knox's health was now failing, and urgent messages were sent to Henry Scrymger from Scotland with the hope of persuading him to return there ; but he pleaded his advancing years and the unsettled state of the country. He wrote to this effect in Latin in reply to George Buchanan on 3rd April, 1572, and in Scots to the Regent, the Earl of Mar, on 12th April of the same year.<sup>1</sup> This letter deserves to be quoted at length. It is highly interesting as showing the genuine faith of one who was both a pure scholar and a diplomat of wide experience, and also his humble estimate of himself. " And albeit I have travellit thir mony Zeiris in sundry Cuntries and Landis, and hes bene in mony grit Companies quhair I nicht have lernit mekle guid to help my Cuntrie, zit I have brocht away so sobir ane deale of all I have hard or sene, that I dreid thay be dissavit of the Houp they have tane of me : notwithstanding my Mynd and Will was evir, and zit is, to spend all God her gevin me outhir of Witt and Understanding or his Giftis, to the furthering of his Glorie, and to the Service of my Soverane Princes Majestie ; for this was always my Butt and Mark I etlit to, sen my first cuming into strainge Cuntries, bot, as mony Tymes cumis to hand that Menis Purposis is brocht to ane uthir End then Thay luikit for by Godis Will, so in a pairt is happenit in my Cace, that being lang Tyme out of my Cuntrie, and acquaintit with strainge Fassious of Leving, I have neirly forzett the Use and Custume of my Land that I sould serve intill : And this is cumit to, because sundrie Tymes when I etlit to cum hame, the trublesum Gyding and State of our Cuntrie sa mony times changand, sa that no man nicht weill see a lyff for thame that socht Quietness and Rest and Policie thairin, quhilk wes the caus that I drew me to sum maner of Rest in thir Pairtis, seing the Aige and unableness of my Body neir to cum within few Zeiris."

Scrymger died on 23rd September, 1572.<sup>2</sup> He bequeathed his remarkable library to his nephew, Sir Peter Young, and after it was brought to Scotland in 1576 by Alexander Young, his other nephew, the care of it was entrusted to Sir Peter's son, Patrick Young.<sup>3</sup> It is stated that the last named arranged for the most valuable parts of it being added to public collections. Various manuscript works of his were disposed of when Dr. John Owen's library was sold by auction in 1684. Patrick Young was made a burges of Dundee in 1618, partly to mark his great munificence

<sup>1</sup> G. Buchanan : *Opera*, Tom. 2, *Epistolae*, VI, VII, VIII (pp. 7-10).

<sup>2</sup> C. Borgeaud : *L'Académie de Calvin*, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 218, Note 1.



towards the library of the town. This gift may well have included books and manuscripts of his uncle, and if they were placed, as seems probable in those circumstances, in the vestry of St. Mary's Church, they would all perish in the disastrous fire of 1841. Dr. George Mackenzie<sup>1</sup> says he has seen "in the Lawiers library" at Edinburgh, a copy of Scrymger's published Greek edition of Justinian's *Novellae Constitutiones* with an autograph inscription; but this cannot now be traced. His only other published work was his contribution to the History of Francis Spira.

The illustrious memory of such an ornament of learning and piety surely deserves to be kept alive.

<sup>1</sup> *The Lives and Characters of the most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation*, II. 474.

